

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10  
LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 /049 W  
-----091139 231934Z /72-42

R 231848Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4700  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MADRID 05835

USEEC AND USOECD ASO FOR EMBASSIES

E.O. 11652 GDS  
TAGS: ELAB, SP  
SUBJECT: A CETERRORIENTED LABOR MOVEMENT IN SPAIN?

1. THE MAY 11 REORGANIZATION OF THE UCD GOVT PARTY'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (MADRID 05321) HAS ONCE AGAIN . FOCUSSED ATTENTION ON THE POSSIBLE EMERGENCE OF A VIABLE CENTER-ORIENTED, "NON-MARXIST ALTERNATIVE" TRADE UNION -- A THIRD MAINSTREAM LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH COULD COMPETE WITH THE SOCIALISTS (UGT) AND COMMUNISTS (WORKERS' COMMISSIONS, CC.OO.). THE UCD'S YOUNG AND DYNAMIC DEPUTY FROM GRANADA, ARTURO MOYA, HAS BEEN TAPPED TO HEAD A FOUNDATION FOR LABOR AND SOCIAL  
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AFFAIRS. IN HIS WORDS, THE UCD CANNOT AFFORD TO LOSE CONTACT WITH THE WORLD OF LABOR, AND THE FOUNDATION WILL PROVIDE A MEANS TO STUDY AND ANALYZE "THAT LABOR SECTOR NOT OCCUPIED BY THE MARXIST UNIONS". HE REPEATED EARLIER UCD STATEMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PARTY HAD NO INTENTION OF "CREATING" A TRADE UNION OR FOMENTING "YELLOW TRADE UNIONISM". MOYA NOTED,

HOWEVER, THAT "SOME 40,000 INDEPENDENT AND UNAFFILIATED DELEGATES" WITH NO UNION SUPPORT HAD BEEN ELECTED AS A RESULT OF THE RECENT PLANT COMMITTEE ELECTIONS (MADRID 4261), AND THAT THE PROPOSED FOUNDATION MIGHT WELL "SUPPORT THIS INDEPENDENT LABOR SECTOR NOT COVERED BY THE UGT AND THE CC.OO.".

2. THE MADRID PRESS OF MAY 19 CARRIED AN ACCOUNT ALLEGING THAT THE WEST GERMAN CDU-SPONSORED KONRAD ADENAUER FOUNDATION "HAS DECIDED NOT TO SUPPORT A UCD TRADE UNION". ATTEMPTING TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT, ON MAY 20 ARTURO MOYA ISSUED A STATEMENT THAT THE UCD HAD NOT SOUGHT ANY ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM EITHER THE CDU OR THE KONRAD ADENAUER FOUNDATION FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROMOTING A TRADE UNION. MOYA DID SPECULATE, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS LIKELY THAT CERTAIN "CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS WITHIN THE UCD" MAY HAVE LOOKED FOR HELP IN PROMOTING A CONFESSIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT. THIS WAS THEIR RIGHT, HE SAID, "BUT IT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE UCD" AS SUCH. MOYA DID ADMIT QUITE FREELY THAT THE GOVT PARTY HAD SOUGHT ASSISTANCE FROM THE KONRAD ADENAUER FOUNDATION "A NUMBER OF MONTHS AGO" FOR ELECTORAL PURPOSES. FINALLY, MOYA POINTED OUT THAT THE NEW UCD LABOR FOUNDATION WAS STILL A PAPER PROJECT, AND THAT MORE DETAILS WOULD BE FORTHCOMING WHEN IT WAS IN FACT ORGANIZED.

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3. AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, ANY NUMBER OF SPLINTER TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS -- ALL PROFESSING TO BE GENERALLY CENTER-ORIENTED -- HAVE SPRUNG UP OVER THE PAST YEAR OR SO. THE PRINCIPAL ONES ARE BRIEFLY IDENTIFIED BELOW. A) CGT (CONFEDERACION GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES), UNTIL RECENTLY HEADED BY LUCAS RAMOS, PERHAPS LESS "VERTICALISTA" THAN SAY THE CDT (SEE BELOW) BUT FOLLOWS RATHER VAGUE INDEPENDENT PRINCIPLES; B) CDT (CONFEDERACION DEMOCRATICA DE TRABAJADORES), HEADED BY ASTURIAN COAL MINER JOSE MANUEL FUEYO, BELIEVED TO HAVE MARKED "VERTICALISTA" COLORATION; C) CTC (CONFEDERACION DE TRABAJO COMMUNITARIO), HEADED BY NEWSPAPERMAN/LAWYER JUAN JOSE TOMAS MARCOS, FOLLOWING INDEPENDENT "CHRISTIAN HUMANISM" LINE; D) CTI (CONFEDERACION DE TRABAJADORES INDEPENDIENTES), HEADED BY JOURNALIST CEREFINO MAESTU (ONE OF THE NON-COMMUNIST CO-FOUNDERS OF THE CC.OO. IN EARLY 1960S), PUSHING FOR "INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONISM" FREE FROM POLITICAL PARTY CONTROL; AND E) CESI (CONFEDERACION ESPANOLA DE SINDICATOS INDEPENDIENTES) WHICH HAS JUST BEEN FOUNDED, HEADED BY RTVE PROGRAM DIRECTOR ANGEL BASTANTE

ABRADELO, PROMOTING THE "NON-MARXIST" THEME. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN RUMORS THAT A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC-ORIENTED TRADE UNION IS ABOUT TO APPEAR ON THE SCENE: SINDICATO FEDERAL DE TRABAJADORES (SFT), PROMOTED BY ONE BIRLANGA PERTUSA OF THE CAJAS DE AHORROS.

4. AT THIS WRITING, ALL OF THESE VARIOUS "TRADE UNIONS" ARE GOING THEIR SEPARATE WAYS AND NONE APPEAR TO HAVE ANY REAL WORKER BASE WORTH MENTIONING. THE LABATT HAS MET PERSONALLY WITH TOMAS MARCOS (CTC), MAESTU (CTI), AND BASTANTE (CESI) OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS -- ALL PROFESS TO WANT A UNIFICATION OF THE CURRENTLY

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SPLINTERED CENTER, BUT ALL ALSO AGREE THAT NOBODY HAS SERIOUSLY TAKEN THE INITIATIVE TO ACCOMPLISH THIS. ONE DECLARED THAT THE UCD HAS ALREADY "POURED 39 MILLION PESETAS (APPROX. US \$500,000) INTO THE CGT AND CDT", BUT THIS CHARGE IS ENTIRELY UNSUBSTANTIATED. PERHAPS THE CTI AND THE CESI CURRENTLY HAVE THE MOST TO OFFER AMONG THE SPLINTER INDEPENDENT ELEMENTS:

MAESTU IS A WELL-KNOWN LABOR PERSONALITY WHO COULD CONCEIVABLY BE THE RALLYING POINT FOR A UNIFICATION MOVE; CESI APPEARS TO HAVE SOME IMPORTANT FINANCIAL BACKING. IT IS OF COURSE ALSO QUITE POSSIBLE THAT AN AS YET UNKNOWN FIGURE OR GROUP WILL EMERGE IN AN ATTEMPT TO MOLD A CENTER LABOR MOVEMENT. CERTAINLY, MOYA AND HIS  
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UCD LABOR FOUNDATION WILL BE CAREFULLY WATCHING FROM THE WINGS, GAUGING WHICH HORSE IF ANY TO BACK.

5. IT DOES SEEM CLEAR THAT THE GOVT IS NOT DISPOSED TO LEAVE THE LABOR FIELD TO THE UGT AND THE CC.OO. ALONE, AND THAT IT BELIEVES THERE IS INDEED ROOM FOR A THIRD MAINSTREAM LABOR MOVEMENT. AS MINISTER OF TRANSPORTATION SANCHEZ-TERAN TOLD THE CHARGE (MADRID 5516), THEY BELIEVE THAT THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF LABOR IS ALMOST AS IMPORTANT OVER THE LONGER TERM AS POLITICAL PARTY ORGANIZATION, IF NOT MORE SO. THUS, HE CONTINUED, MOYA'S ASSIGNMENT AS HEAD OF AN INSTITUTE TO PROMOTE UCD LABOR RELATIONS WAS POTENTIALLY VERY IMPORTANT. AS A FINAL COMMENT, THE EMBASSY WOULD NOTE THAT THE NAME OF USO STILL KEEPS SURFACING AS A POSSIBLE FOCAL POINT FOR A CENTER LABOR MOVEMENT. THE EMBASSY HAS IT FROM A GOOD SOURCE THAT SUAREZ HAS DISCUSSED SUCH A POSSIBILITY IN GENERAL TERMS WITH USO SECRETARY GENERAL MANUEL ZAGUIRRE. THE REASONING RUNS THAT USO HAS THE PRESTIGE AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATION TO SPEARHEAD A CENTER LABOR COALITION (IT MANAGED TO COME IN A DISTANT THIRD WITH 6 PERCENT BEHIND THE CC.OO. AND THE UGT IN THE RECENT PLANT COMMITTEE ELECTIONS), AND THAT IT MIGHT BE WILLING TO MODIFY ITS CURRENT INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST COLORATION IN EXCHANGE FOR A NEW LEASE ON LIFE, SO TO SPEAK. EATON

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## Message Attributes

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